

The True *Tom Double*:
OR, AN
ACCOUNT
OF
DR. *Davenant's*
LATE *W*

CONDUCT and WRITINGS, particularly
with Relation to the XIth Section of his
Essays on Peace at Home, and War Abroad.

WITH SOME
Latin Memorandums for the Dr.'s Use.

PART I.

*This his Conduct and Temporising had an Effect quite
different from what he aim'd at ; for he came at last to be
well thought of by neither Party.*

Dr. Davenant's *Essays on Peace at Home, &c.* p. 71.

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THE TRUE STATE
OF
A COUNTRY
OF
DR. BARRETT'S

LATE
CONDUCT AND WRITINGS, particularly
with Relation to the Xth Section of his
Essays on Peace at Home, and War Abroad.

WITNESSED
I am, &c. for the Doctor



PART I

This is Conduct and Reasoning, and an Essay, which
different persons will be apt to see in different
lights, though by neither Party.

Dr. Barrett's Essays on Peace at Home, &c. &c.

LONDON:

Printed by G. G. & Co. and sold by J. W. & Co.
Stetson's Hall.

LATIN SENTENCES

For the use of Dr. DAVENANT,

OR,

*Some Thoughts on the Dr's. late Conduct
and Writings, particularly with relation
to the 11th Section of his Essays on
Peace at Home, and War abroad.*

IT hath sometimes happened, that an adventurous Gamester, who depended too much on his good Luck, hath thrown away, at one Cast, all his former Winnings. And this is the Fate of poor Dr. Dav——t. He had been fortunately engaged for some Years on the right Side, by being disoblighd by the wrong. The Scorn and ill Usage he had felt, gave him Courage to utter some useful Truths, which wiser Heads had infused into him; and his Relation to Poetry and the Play-House, enabled him to cloath those borrowed Thoughts in tolerable Language. The Applause and Favour of good Men went along with him in those Attempts, and these several Accidents conspired to give Vogue and Reputation to his Writings; which he hath parted with all at once in his late idle

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Book,

Book, about *Peace at Home, and War abroad*, and he is now sunk into the same State of Contempt, wherein he was, before Resentment made him Honest and Daring.

Dr. *Dav* — *t's* Character in every respect, and particularly, as an Author, is somewhat singular. As he really lived heretofore, so he still, in his scribbling Capacity, subsists upon other Mens Scraps. He hath a Political Common-place-Book, filled with glittering Passages from *Tacitus*, *Livy*, and *Salust*; and some of these pick'd out to serve a Turn, and enlarged upon by a flat Comment of his own, is what he calls an *Essay*. I may be allowed, I hope, to follow so great a Master, and to put him in mind of some Sayings in those Authors, which he hath over-looked, and this is one of them, That Power is to be preserved by the same Ways and Means by which it was acquired, *Imperium facile ijs Artibus retinetur, quibus ab initio partum est*, (Sal. Bell. Catil.) which holds as true of Reputation as it doth of Power. Well had it been for the Dr. if he had made a Proper and Discreet Use of this Maxim; it would have prevented his entring into a Foolish Project of Accommodation, which no way becomes him, and Writing away all that little Credit which his former Services had gained him.

Moderation, *Union* and *Peace*, are good Names, and good Things; but 'tis certainly with the worst Grace in the World that this Dr. pleads for them, who hath no other Talent, or Merit, but that of being an *In incendiary*, or (in his own Military Phrase) the *Trumpet*, the *Sword*, and *Hammer* of that War which hath been managed

managed of late between Contending Sides in this Kingdom. *What hast thou to do with Peace? turn thee behind me.*

How awkwardly do Proposals of *Union* come from a Man who so lately and fiercely declared, ' That ' the *Zeal* for the Publick which had then warm'd him, ' should not in the least *cool* ; and that, tho' he should ' be left to stand alone, he would still *Combat* on, ' and neither *Ask*, nor give *Quarter* in the *Conflict* he ' intended to maintain with the *Corruptions* of the *Age*. (*Grants and Resumptions*, p. 448.) Is the *Age* then grown less *Corrupt* than it was, when the Dr. thus defy'd it? or rather, hath he not found it more Convenient to share in these *Corruptions*, than to *Combat* any longer with them? When a Writer of his Resolution or Prowess draws back all at once from the *Conflict*, and, instead of Menaces and Complaints, breaths nothing but Gentle and Healing Measures, may One not (without enquiring who are in Office) be sure, that something else hath been *Asked* and *Given*, besides *Quarter*?

His *Secretaryship* to the *Scotch Union*, doubtless gave the first Turn to his Thoughts, and put him into the *Moderate Way*; and then a second Favour, quite *cool'd* his *Zeal*, and finished the Work of Conversion. *Fa-
mam Moderationis querebat, postquam Superbiam exple-
verat*, says his Author; that is, He got into a Post by Railing, and is now resolved to keep it by Trimming.

But is not he excellently well *Qualified* to set up for a Mediator between Two Parties which he hath equally disoblged? And are not the Terms he hath to offer
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in this Case, likely to be listned to, on the One Side, by those whom he hath so long and so often represented as Betrayers of their Country; and on the Other Side, by such, as know themselves to have been Betrayed by Him?

Were he as Acceptable to both Sides as a Man ought to be that interposeth between them, yet what Abilities hath He for such a Task? What! because his Invectives against an Ill Ministry, falling in with the General Voice and Inclination of the People, succeeded, doth he think himself therefore capable of setting up for an *Umpire* between the *Corrupt* Party, and the *Sound*, and of prescribing to Each of Them the Terms of Abatement and Union? Alas! this is a Work to which his Head and Pen are not equal. A few Popular Colours, and fine Words will serve to enflame Mens Resentments when rais'd; but it requires another Sort of Eloquence, supported by the deepest Wisdom, and the most Consummate Experience, to appease them. Qualities, of which the Dr. is as utterly destitute, as he is of all Vertuous and Honourable Principles, or as he was, two Years ago, of a Maintenance for his needy Family. And perhaps the Want of the Latter, was the Only Thing, which could have tempted Him (vain as he is) to believe, that he did not want the Former.

This State-Quack hath not manag'd with as much Caution as common Mountebanks do in their Bills; where they pretend indeed to Cure all Diseases, but wisely add, *if Curable*; whereas our Dr. undertakes forthwith to dispel all Ill Humours, and allay all Un-
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natural Ferments in the Body Politick, and reduce it to a Perfect State of Ease and Soundness. A very notable Project! not exceeded by any in the famous Legend of *Quixot*; and which shews, the Dr. knows as little of himself, and his own Strength, as he doth of the present Temper of the *English* Nation.

Could he imagine, that by his Declamatory Style, his Loose and Unpointed Reflections, he was able to lay the Evil Spirit of Discord, and to extinguish Parties, at a Juncture, when they were about to try their utmost Strength, upon a Point of so tender Concern, as *the Bill of Occasional Communion*?

One would think that he had fate to that Picture which *Tacitus* had drawn of *Musonius Rufus*, such another Discreet and Powerful Orator; who being full of some Sage Maxims, which he had learn'd from the *Stoicks*, took Occasion to offer them in a Long Harangue to the Soldiers, (then going to engage) about the Blessings of *Peace*, and the Hazards of *War*. An Harangue so Insipid and Ridiculous, that his Auditory could scarce be restrain'd from beginning the Fray upon the Orator himself, and chastising him for such an unreasonable Display of his Wisdom. *Miscuerat se Legatis Musonius Rufus — Studium Philosophia & Placita Stoicorum emulatus, captabatq; permixtus Manipulis, Bona Pacis, & Belli Discrimina, Armatos monere. Id plerisq; Ludibrio, pluribus Tadio; nec deerant qui propellerent, proculcarentq; ni admonitus Modestissimi cujuscunq; & alijs minitantibus, omisset Intempestivam Sapientiam.* The Doctor's Attempt was somewhat like this, and so is the Success of it; for his Empty Essays about *Peace*
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and *War* have had no other Effect, besides the Exciting in all his Readers, that Detestation and Scorn which is due to the Writer.

The Ablest and most Artful Pens have ever found it an unpracticable Thing to Change Sides and Principles, and yet preserve their Reputation and Influence; and no wonder therefore if a Writer of this *Doctor's* Size smarts so deeply under the same Experiment. Even *Cicero* himself, when (upon *Cæsar's* Success) he deserted the Cause of Liberty, and turned Courtier, perceived presently, that the Power of his Eloquence vanished together with his Character. His Fine Periods in behalf of Moderate Courses, and Gentle Measures, had no Effect upon those who had been used always to hear a different kind of Language from him. As great a Master as he was of the Art of Persuasion, yet, he could not then Persuade either his Old or his New Friends, that he acted sincerely: He was Reproached by the One, and Used (but not Valued) by the Other; and by Managing between Both, found himself Able at last, with all his good Qualities, to Hurt, or Help neither. What pitiful Excuses was he forced to make for himself in his Letter to *Lentulus*? 'Tis the first Apology for Trimming which we meet with in Story; the Original ill Copy, after which all the State-Doublers ever since have wrote. I shall transcribe a large Passage from it, which might very properly have adorn'd the Frontispiece of the Dr's late Labours. *Neq; permanendum arbitror in una Sententia, conuersis rebus, ac Bonorum Voluntatibus mutatis; sed temporibus assentiendum. Nunquam enim prestantibus*

in Republicâ gubernandâ Viris laudata est in unâ Sententia perpetua permansio. Sed, ut in Navigando Tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi Portum tenere non queas; cum verò id possis mutata Velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo Cursum quem caperis, potius quàm, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire: Sic, cum omnibus nobis in administrandâ Republicâ propositum esse debeat cum Dignitate Otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quamobrem cum in hunc sensum & alliciar Beneficijs Hominum, & compellar Injurijs, facile patior ea me de Republicâ Sentire & Dicere, quæ cum Mihi maxime tum etiam Reipublicæ rationibus putem conducere.

The Words need no Translation. Dr. D——'s late Book and Practice, are a large Comment upon them. But how did this shifting of Sides succeed with Tully? Why, it blemish'd his Character to such a Degree, that had not a new Turn happened afterwards in the Common-wealth, which gave him an Opportunity of Exerting once again his Old Zeal for his Country, of Acting, Suffering, and even Dying for it; he would have been as Infamous to all Posterity for his Conduct, as he was admirable for his Eloquence.

'Tis an Affront to the Memory of so Great a Man, to compare, or ever name him with such a Scribler as Dr. Davenant. Elkanah Settle's famous Performances against, and for a Popish Successor, would have afforded us a more apt, and more Becoming Parallel. But I thought a greater Example would be of better Use to the Dr. and give him a more sensible Occasion of reflecting, how Impossible it is for Him without Capacity, Merit, or Vertue, to play that After-game well,

well, which the first Writer of the World found so difficult. He may perhaps, comfort himself with the Reward of lost Honesty, a Place, and think 1200 *l.* a Year a fair Equivalent for all the Ill Things that can be thought, or said of him. He had no Choice left him, but either to write in this manner, or Starve; either to have no Bread of his Own to Eat, or to Eat his own Words in order to gain it; and upon the Ballance of the Inconveniences on both Sides, was resolv'd (like his Brother-Prostitute *Silius* in *Tacitus*) to take the present Proffer, and venture future Consequences. *Neque Flagitij aut Periculi nescius erat: Sed certè, si abnueret, Exitio, & nonnullâ fallendi spe, simul magnis præmiis, opperiri futura, & præsentibus frui pro solatio habebat.* This has constantly been the Logick of those Men, who (as the Dr. luckily express-

* p. 369. eth himself) * *Build all their Merit in a Profligate Resignation of themselves to whatever is Commanded.* But how false and short-sighted their Way of Reasoning is, Experience hath as constantly inform'd us. There is another of his Grave Historians, who says very well on this Occasion, That Reputation, at how high a Price soever it goes, is always sold too Cheap. *Famæ quidem & Fidei Damna majora sunt quàm quæ estimari possunt.* And the Reason of the Aphorism is plain, because Pensions and Preferments may be got, and lost twenty ways, whereas a Character of Steadiness and Integrity, when it is once gone, is gone for ever.

And this is a Consideration which ought to have weight with *Writers of Fortune*, above all other Sorts
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of Men; for they, who profess to Live and Rise by their Pens, should particularly take Care to recommend what they write, by Honest Principles, and an Even Unblemish'd Conduct. Else the Weapon, by which they are to make their Way in the World, looses its Edge, and can neither protect their Friends, nor offend their Enemies. And when they are past doing Execution, they will no longer be Courted into Service. Whether this be not our Worthy Dr.'s Case, and whether since he hath recanted his late Principles, he will not find, that he holds his present Ample Subsistence by a very precarious Tenure, is a Question a little Time will determine. He seems to Me, I confess, to be a Creature at Mercy, and so utterly disabled from doing Mischief, that his Advancers may, as soon as they please, very safely lay hold of the *Durante Beneplacito*, in the Grant of his Office, to get rid of him.

The Bee is turn'd Drone by the loss of his Sting, and is grown altogether Harmless and Useless; can neither drive away the Wasps from the Hive, nor help to make the Honey. But let this be as it will; my present Business with the Dr. is only in relation to what he hath *done*, not to what he may *suffer* for it. And I shall therefore, in a few short Reflections, consider the ill Design he had in writing those Essays, and the Weak and Foolish Manner in which it is there Executed.

His first Intention was, it seems, to have published somewhat in Defence of the *Right of the Illustrious*
D *House*

- House of Austria to the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy*; * but he did not prosecute it, because, in Collecting together his Materials for this Work, he soon found it necessary first to look
- * *Ibid.* Home, * and to compose our Intestine Quarrels, that we might all be at Leisure to listen to those Arguments which he should afterwards produce on that Subject. Nothing can be more ridiculously vain than this Account which the Dr. gives of himself, and his Designs; nothing, but the Pompous Preface with which he introduces it. *Having* (says he) *for some Years last Past, proposed to Communicate from Time to Time, such Observations that Occur to Me, as I shall think of Service to the Pub-*
- * p. 7. *lick* * ——— My Lord Bacon (I remember) begins his Advancement of Learning much after the same Manner. ‘Francis Lord Verulam *thus* thought, and thus consulted with himself; and he concluded, that a Publication of his Thoughts might be Useful to the Present and the Future Age. A Turn of Speech, which became that Noble Peer, the Great Work he was upon, and his admirable Manner of Handling it! but which is Burlesqu’d, and Prophan’d by Dr. Davenant’s Using it. Of what Service to the Publick could it be to set out a labour’d Defence of the Austrian Right to the Spanish Succession? Which every English-man is already as well satisfied of, as He is of the Dr.’s Inability to produce any thing on that Subject worth Reading.

*Non Tali Auxilio, nec Defensoribus istis
Tempus eget——*

The Right is clear to all the World, and wants not Dr. *Davenant's* Rhetorick, but Ships and Arms, Men and Money to Support it.

However, since He had once resolv'd to Enter on this wise Work, how came He afterwards to Defer it? Was the secret Proffer of his Service not sufficiently Encourag'd by the *Emperour's* Minister? Was there no Hope of a Pension from that Quarter in the Present Circumstances? Or, did he think it convenient to observe how the *Portugal-Expedition* was likely to succeed e'er he ventur'd to displease the House of *Bourbon*, and break Faith and Friendship with his Old Ally Monsieur *Poussin*? *Valerius Festus—— palam Epistolis Edictisq; Vitellium, secretis Nuntiis Vespasianum fovens, & hac illave defensurus, prout invaluisse.* These, indeed, are Motives which may be allow'd to have had their Weight with such a Mercenary Pen; and in this Sense it might be true, *that he found it necessary first to look home*, that is, to mind his Own Interest, and to write something which he was sure to get by; whereas, the Reason he gives for this Delay [*that it would afford Him an Opportunity of Composing our Domestick Dissensions*] is so Senseless and Arrogant a Pretence, as is not to be match'd, even in his own Writings. In the mean time it was discreetly and kindly done of Him, to give this *Publick* Notice to the *Illustrious House of Austria*, of his good Inclinations to plead their Cause,
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and it will be their Fault now, if they do not take Care to Fee the Advocate. Should any Man think these Enquiries into the Springs and Motives of the Dr.'s Conduct, unnatural'd, and groundless, I desire him to suspend his Censure till he hath heard a Short and, as I am credibly inform'd, True Story. There hath been lately printed in *Holland*, a pretended *French* Translation of an *English* MS. left there last Summer, and Entitled, *The Interest of England mistaken in the Present War*. It is a Book as well Calculated to do Mischief to the Common Cause of the Allies, as any that has been written since the Revolution. The Author of it appears to be well acquainted with the Affairs of *England*, and makes Use of his Knowledge to shew, how great Loosers We are likely to be by this War, beyond other Nations, and how Impossible it is, we should be Gainers. He sets out the Publick Debts, the Great Taxes, and Loss of Trade, we lie under; tells us, how this last may in every Branch of it be Undermin'd by Our Enemies, and is now encroach'd upon by our Confederates. He endeavours to breed Ill Blood between us and *Holland*, by Exaggerating on the One Side the several Injuries we have received from the *Dutch* in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and in their Clipping Our Money the last War; and by putting them in Mind, on the Other Side, what they suffer by Our Act of Navigation. He pretends, that it would be for Our Advantage to let their Provinces be subdu'd by *France*, since the Inhabitants would then fly to *England*, and add vastly to its Wealth and Populousness. I forbear to enlarge farther on some other Particulars not fit to be mentioned, and on the Design of this Pernicious

icious Book, which ought to be always what it yet is, a Secret in *England*. This only I shall add, That Monsieur *Poussin* is Universally Esteem'd the Writer of it; and from whence he had his Materials, I leave the Reader to guess, and shall only tell him, that our Dr. is there frequently quoted, and ever with Respect, and his Accounts are all taken for Granted. Doubtless, that Inquisitive *French* Agent made a proper Use of the Opportunity he had of Conversing with the Dr. here in *England*; and if the Dr. to shew his Fairness and Freedom of his Judgment, should have discoursed him sometimes about Our False Steps and Mistakes in Point of Policy and Interest, What Wonder is it? Such things will escape, even, a well-meaning Man now and then over *Burgundy* and *Champaign*; and perhaps it might be thought, there could not be a better way to Intimidate *France*, than by Openly owning to her Minister the Faults of our Conduct, and Defying her to Mischief us by such a Discovery. And if Mr. *Poussin* took the thing so wrong as to make Presents for such fancied Services, was not any One in the right to receive them? Surely, the best Way of humbling our Enemies, is by draining them of their Money.

But to return from this Digression: The *House of Austria* must, it seems, be left to shift for it self; Dr. D. is not at leisure to look abroad, till he hath Establish'd Peace at Home: Tho' if this be his settled Resolution, one may safely, I fear, venture to *Prophecy*, that his Pen will never be drawn in that Quarrel.

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In Order to *Peace*, the great Expedient which he offers, is, to forgive and forget all the Male-Administration of a former Reign. *Things* are to be amended, without Accusing Persons; who must All be allow'd to retreat quietly with the Booty, how great soever it be, and by what Rapacious and Wicked Arts soever they have gain'd it. And is not this an Excellent Receipt for Curing future Disturbances in the State, to suffer past ones to go not only unpunish'd, but undetected? Whether this Remedy be proper or not, Dr. D. it is certain, cannot properly prescribe it; who for Seven Years together, Excited the Nation to take *Vengeance* on those *Robbers of the Publick*, those *Bravers of Justice*, those *Squanderers of Millions*, and who, in that very *Section*, where he now pleads on their behalf for Oblivion and Impunity, forgets so far on which Side he is

* p. 146. Retain'd as unwarily to affirm, that * *Examples of Punishment are such Necessary Admonitions, that without them, Law it self, and the Law-givers, become the General Subject of Contempt.*

With what Tragical Exclamations, and bitter Invectives against these Men did he formerly fill his Writings? *Qui sunt hi qui Rempublicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, Cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, noventissimi, ipseque; Superbissimi; quibus Fides, Decus, Pietas postremò Honesta atque; Inhonestà omnia questui sunt. Quam quisque; pessimè fecit, tum maximò tutus est; Metum à Scelere suo ad Ignaviâ vestram transtulire; quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere, in unum coegit.* These, and such as These, were the frightful Colours with which he painted their Character. In what a different Tone, and with what softning

softning Phrases, doth he now speak of them ? Men they are, *who* (forsooth !) *may be thought to have* Offended, * *and whose Administration had the* * Ep. Ded. *Misfortune not to please.* Their Legion Pamphlets, were (*it is to be hop'd*) the Effects of *Private Folly, or private Malice, not the Declar'd Sense of any* Party; * *and the Errors of their Management* * p. 23. (if any such there were) *are not to be Eternally remembred, never forgiven, always upbraided to them.* † The very Spirit of Lenity and Tendernefs, we see, possesses Him. When he wrote his Ocher Pieces, he was out of Place, and consequently out of Humour, with Those who had what He wanted. But since the Court-Sun hath shone upon Him, his Humour is mightily improv'd with his Fortunes; Ease in the Mind, naturally and insensibly slides into the Pen; for what Occasion hath He, who hath 1200 Pounds a Year given Him, to be angry ?

To promote this Pious End of Covering past Miscarriages, the Dr. finds it requisite to *Temper the Zeal of Those who have given repeated Proofs of their Right Intentions to the Publick,* * * Ep. Ded. that is, in plainer *English*, to traduce and libel his Friends, in Order to Gratifie and Screen his Enemies. And here too, he is at a Loss how to behave himself. He had given so many good Words to those Worthy Patriots heretofore, as he knew not how decently to retract on the sudden, and yet his Design requir'd, that their Credit and Influence, should, if possible, be lessen'd. So he steers a middle Way, and after bestowing a Compliment upon them for what was past, insolently

insolently tells them, That the Posture of Affairs is now chang'd, and that they too must Change with it; abate of their High Pretensions, drop their Honest, but Unseasonable Indignation against Prosperous Vice, and be Contented to pursue Calmer and Wiser Measures. Thus the Defserter turns Adviser; and vainly presumes, that his good Counsel from the Press, may find Admittance with those who now refuse him their Company; and think their best Actions Blemish'd and Disgrac'd by his Approbation.

Is the Dr. then really gone over to the Other Side? By no means! He abhors the thought of it. He hath

*given Proofs of his firm Adherence to the Interest, as well as Doctrine of the Church of England.**
 * p. 261.

But if the Members of our Church will make Use of Wrong Methods to Support it, may not the Dr. set them Right, if he knows how? May not he disapprove the Passions of those whose Principles he Espouses? and make such Advances towards the Party that is out of Play, as are requisite to lessen their Fears, and keep them from Despairing? And if his Old Friends will not listen to the Wise Lesson of Peace which he reads to them, even that Refusal shall not make him look out for New Ones. He will wait till they come to themselves, and in the mean time, will engage on neither Side; for he hath written a whole Section to prove *That a good Member of a Commonwealth may, in Times of Faction, continue Neuter.*

He hath so; but there is a Sentence in *Livy* worth that whole Section, and which gives us a much better Account of the Dr's Conduct. *Albano, non plus Animi quam*

quàm Fidei erat; nec Manere ergo, nec Transire aperte ausus—— *Consilium erat, quâ Fortuna rem daret eâ inclinare Vires.* Dr. D. is not so mad as to declare himself on any Side, till He is sure that it will Prosper. He hath only Open'd his Way towards being received, if they should happen to Succeed, and that's as far as a Prudent Man ought in reason to Venture.

But the nicest Point upon which the Dr. hath been prevail'd with to try his Skill, is, *The Bill of Occasional Conformity.* He had unfortunately been twice an eager Solicitor for it, and it was Hard therefore, that he should be put now upon writing against it. He himself was so sensible of the Difficulties which attended this Part of the Task, that, if Fame says true, he would fain have gotten Leave to drop it. But the Command was peremptory, and prevail'd. Besides, it was known, that he had Compos'd such Papers; and should he afterwards have conceal'd them from the Publick, it would have been imputed rather to his Fears, than his Honesty. *Maluit ergo Patrati quàm Incepti Facinoris reus esse;* He thought it better to please Some Body than No Body: and so out-comes the *Section* about *Religion, and Liberty of Conscience.*

'Tis pleasant to Observe, how gingerly the As mumbles this Thistle, and what Pains he takes to guard against the Prickles, while he is Chewing it. He does not once name the Bill, nor speak out in that whole *Section*, what he would be understood to mean, in a single Line of it. But mentions, with great Respect, some Gentlemen of *known* * *Worth, Probity and Wisdom,* * who have

* p. 260.

insolently tells them, That the Posture of Affairs is now chang'd, and that they too must Change with it; abate of their High Pretensions, drop their Honest, but Unseasonable Indignation against Prosperous Vice, and be Contented to pursue Calmer and Wiser Measures. Thus the Defserter turns Adviser; and vainly presumes, that his good Counsel from the Press, may find Admittance with those who now refuse him their Company; and think their best Actions Blemish'd and Disgrac'd by his Approbation.

Is the Dr. then really gone over to the Other Side? By no means! He abhors the thought of it. He hath
*given Proofs of his firm Adherence to the Interest, as well as Doctrine of the Church of England.**
 * p. 261.

But if the Members of our Church will make Use of Wrong Methods to Support it, may not the Dr. set them Right, if he knows how? May not he disapprove the Passions of those whose Principles he Espouses? and make such Advances towards the Party that is out of Play, as are requisite to lessen their Fears, and keep them from Despairing? And if his Old Friends will not listen to the Wise Lesson of Peace which he reads to them, even that Refusal shall not make him look out for New Ones. He will wait till they come to themselves, and in the mean time, will engage on neither Side; for he hath written a whole *Section* to prove *That a good Member of a Commonwealth may, in Times of Faction, continue Neuter.*

He hath so; but there is a Sentence in *Livy* worth that whole *Section*, and which gives us a much better Account of the Dr's Conduct. *Albano, non plus Animi quàm*

quàm Fidei erat; nec Manere ergo, nec Transire aperte ausus——— *Consilium erat, quâ Fortuna rem daret eâ inclinare Vires.* Dr. D. is not so mad as to declare himself on any Side, till He is sure that it will Prosper. He hath only Open'd his Way towards being received, if they should happen to Succeed, and that's as far as a Prudent Man ought in reason to Venture.

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Worth, Probity and Wisdom, * who have

* p. 260.

- † p. 245. *given Battle to Hypocrisie,* † and he owns the Methods wherein they attack it to be
 * p. 242. *strictly just.* * But he is alarm'd by the Sense of Misapprehensions and Mischiefs possible to ensue on such a Conflict. He is afraid lest what they aim at *should obliquely injure the*
 * p. 240. *Dissenters, and hurt them by a Side-wind,* * *should look like an Infraction of their Rights,*
 * p. 256. *should have any Shadow of Compulsion,* * *or seem in the least to lead towards a Repeal*
 * p. 239. *of the Act of Toleration.* * He doth not pretend to say, that this is really the Case, but he would fain have his Reader think so. He insinuates Suspicions, which he dares not Own. He asks 40 Questions in a Breath, without Answering One of them.

May be's, Peradventure's and perhaps's, the Familiar Ornaments of his Style in all his *Essays*, abound in This, without Number. It is all, Doubts, Conjectures, Fancies, Fears, — any thing but Reason and Argument. Whatever he says in one Page, if you have the Patience to read on, you will find him unsaying in the next. Here you would think he is for the *Bill*, and there you are sure he is against it. In a Word, the Production is every way as Mean as the Attempt, and equally disparages both the Cause and the Writer. and no Wonder, for the Dr. writ under strong Checks and Reluctances of Mind, against his present Inclination, and against his former Opinion; what he says therefore partakes every way of that Disorder and Confusion of Thought under which he labours.

Hac certe melius persuadebit alijs, qui prius persuaserit sibi. Prodit enim se quantumlibet se custodiat, dissimulatio; nec unquam tanta fuerit eloquendi facultas, ut non titubet, atq; hareat, quoties ab animo verba dissentiant.

‘He is most likely to Persuade and Convince Others, who hath first Convinced himself. For Dissimulation, let it be never so much upon its Guard, will sometimes Betray it self. If a Man means one thing, and pretends another, his Real Sentiments will appear thro’ all the Artifice and false Eloquence under which he disguiseth them.

However, thus far the Tool was well fitted to its Work. The Advocate for Hypocrisie could not Act more becomingly, than by doing himself the very thing which he Defends, and Justifying one odious Sort of Dissimulation with another.

Indeed one part of this *Section* there is, where he throws off the Mask, and expresses himself after so Open and Free a Manner, as that we are in no Danger of mis-understanding Him. ’Tis, where he *Prophecies*, what Steps the Dissenters will take upon the Passing this Bill, and by that Means, kindly and fully *Instructs* them, how in such a Case, to maintain their Union, and stand their Ground. For *ten Pages* together he pursues this *p. 245. to p. 255.* Honest Design. I recommend them to the Perusal of the Reader; and desire the Dr. when he writes next, to inform us whether this be One of the many *Proofs he hath given* of his firm *Adherence to the Interest of the Church of England?*

I intend

I intend not here to take off his false Colours, or to expose his Weak Reasonings on the Subject of *Occasional Conformity*; a Worthy * Writer * Sir H. M. hath eas'd me of that Task, and paid perhaps a greater Regard to his Arguments than they deserve, by Confuting them, in so clear and solid a Manner, as needs no Addition, and will admit of no Reply. But I cannot dismiss this Famous *Section*, till I have pointed out to the Reader some Passages of it, which for Pertinence of Thought, and Beauty of Expression, are not perhaps to be rival'd any where.

Was the Dr. asleep, when he recommended the Conduct of Henry the 3d of France towards the Hugonots, whom, it seems, that Prince almost suppress'd by *shutting them out from all the Offices and Employments of State, and giving them to understand, that, as they were to fear no Hurt, so they were to expect no Favour from him.* Is not this the very Counterpart of the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*? and if Henry the 3d therefore was in the Right, how come the Friends of that Bill to be in the Wrong? Surely, this is One of those

Passages, which the Dr. owns were written * p. 16. *some time ago,* * when he was in other Opinions and Measures; and the Ungrateful

Work he was now upon, had so dull'd his Faculties, that he threw it in here, without discerning whither it tended.--- *Ut ferre solent qui à suis de-*

Liv. l. 6. sciscunt, capti & stupentis animi. When a Man once leaves his Principles, Common Sense

Sense leaves him, and he writes as if he did not know, which Side he was retain'd on.

In the same Section, the Dr. is pleas'd to allow, That *the Religion of the Church of England (if those who profess it live up to its Doctrine) is the purest of any.* This spiteful Innuendo about the loose Lives of those of the Church of England was so dear to him, that he chose rather to write Nonsense than part with it; for 'tis hard to imagine how the Purity of any Religion should depend on the Lives of those who profess it. I had thought that the Christian Institution was every way as good and excellent Now, as in the Primitive Ages, tho' the Morals, Plainness, and Polity of Christians be much degenerated. Witness this Author's late worthy Performances!

No Plant grows faster by Cultivation, than Piety, * says the Dr. A very wholesome * p. 229. Saying! but I must beg leave to doubt the Truth of it, because an Author, whom the Dr. honours, assures me *That the Nature of Man leans more to Vice than Virtue,* † and Com. † p. 338. mon Experience proves, that one Ill Example extends its Influence farther, and sooner than twenty Good Ones. The Dr. himself writ some tolerable good Books, while he was Poor and Honest, worthy of Imitation, And yet how few writ after him? He hath now writ an Ill One, against his Judgment, but for his Interest; I fear the Last Example he hath set, will have most Followers.

To make us Easie in loosing the *Occasional Bill*, he assures us, that *the Security of the Church* hath been

‘as far consulted as lay within the Reach of Humane
 ‘Wisdom, by Excluding *Papists* from the Royal Scep-
 ‘ter, and fixing it for ever in a Line of
 * p. 230. ‘*Protestant Successors.* * As if *Papists* were
 the only Enemies to the Establish’d Church,
 and *Protestants*, as such, must needs be Friends to it.
 I wish we had no Instances to the Contrary. The
 Dr. had set his Argument in a much better Light,
 and done more Justice to the Legislature, had he af-
 firm’d, as the Truth is, that the chief Security of the
 Church consists in the Obligation laid on our Future
 Princes, by the *Act of Succession* to hold Communion
 (I suppose it is not meant *Occasional Communion*) with
 the Church of *England*. When he was arguing us
 out of the Need of any New Security, Common Sense
 might have taught him, not to have lessened the Force
 of the Old One.

That he should think Absurdly, is no Wonder;
 But his very *Language* is as False and Mean, as his
Thoughts. This Master of Correct and Polite Expression,
 writes oftentimes like One of the *Inferiour*
 * p. 249. *Classis of Men, or what we call the Vulgar.* *
 Doth he rise above that Level, where he
 mentions Ministers, *who encourage those of their Antient*
Following? [p. 252, 253.] Things which are of the
most Importance. [p. 96.] Men who pursue such a
Measure, [p. 58.] or Sort together in such an One’s
Defence, [p. 144.] who find sufficient of bad Matter
to work upon, [p. 29.] whose whole Actions are blame-
 less, [p. 130.] or, who have a separate Interest from
 that of the whole Publick. [p. 246.] Where he speaks
 of

of *Irradicating Distempers*, [p. 193.] and *Vices*, [p. 338.] of being *Imbib'd with Arbitrary Principles*, [p. 210.] and *Sentiments*, [p. 81.] of *Pursuing to correct a Fault*, [p. 192.] and regarding to encrease *Glo-ry*, [p. 411.] of *Over-looking* (he means *Inspecting*) *Ministerial Offices*, [p. 343.] of *Contracting Enemies*, [p. 351.] and *having to Friends*, [p. 403.] of a *Big War*, [p. 410.] a *Brief Greatness*, [p. 102.] and a *Brief Authority*. [p. 388.] These are the Familiar Ornaments of his Style; the new Phrases wherein he very suitably dresseth up his new Politicks. Our Constitution is not more a Stranger to the One, than our Language is to the Other.

His Transitions from Metaphor to Metaphor, are as Quick and Unnatural, as from Side to Side. In one Line we find him *Likening Faction to a Tide*, † and, in the next almost, to an *Un-† p. 65. ruly Steed*: He begins a Sentence with *Drums and Trumpets*, † and ends it with *Banks and † p. 18. Ebbing Waters*. But above all, he delights in Resemblances between the *Body Natural*, and the *Body Politick*; which he scatters with so liberal an Hand, as to shew, that he made good Use of his Acquaintance with his Father *Mullins*.

But I return to the *Section*, wherewith I am chiefly concern'd. We find him there [p. 248.] in a very thoughtful Posture, *Contemplating the Dissenters in their Proper Forms and Ranks, in a View of the whole People*, and then *having ranged them in their several Degrees, he considers them in their Persons, as their Persons may have Relation to their respective Circumstances*. [p. 249.] In the Name of Mystery,

what

what doth this Jargon mean? How shall we understand this puzzling, and puzzled Writer? Here is Distinction without Light, and Method without Order; an affected Clearness, which it is as difficult to apprehend, as the affected Obscurity of the meanest Writers. And, *what* (as this Elevated Pen elsewhere expresseth it self) *What, doth this Uncertainty Produce, but an Admiration both Impotent and Careless?* His Design is to be *Admir'd*, not *Understood*; and he knows it is One Way of being *Admir'd* by many Readers, if we take Care, not to be *Understood* by them. Indeed the Passage I have produced, is an Image in little, of his whole Book, where there is an Air of Gravity without Wisdom, a seeming Concern for Publick Good, without Common Honesty, a Shew of Argument without Reason, and a Pretence to Style without Grammar. In short, it seems to be thought, what it is not, and is a Work very Proper from a *Doubler* in the Defence of Hypocrisie and Trimming.

Yet one Flower more, I shall pick out of this Garden of Eloquence, and present to the Reader. Let him smell to it, and then sling away both that, and the Book if he pleases.

“Tho’ (says the Dr.) the Legislature may with Justice say to any Sect in Religion, You have *these* and *these* Liberties allow’d You by the Law, but by the strict Letter of it we are not Detain’d from doing *so* and *so* — You play fast and loose, are against us in Principle, and with us in Advantage. You shall therefore be *so* and *so* restrain’d, and *thus* and *thus* excluded.

An admirable and clear State of the Case! Which, whether it be Decided, or Expressed with greater Accuracy,

racy, the Reader, I suppose, will be at a Loss to determine. How happy our Orator is in the Use of Particles, wherein we know the Secret of Good Writing consists? *These and These, Thus and Thus, So and So.* How prettily the sweet Stream of his Words breaks and murmurs over these little Pebbles? 'Tis observ'd of *Virgil*, that he often interweaves Low Images into the loftiest Parts of his Poem, in Order to unbend the Mind of his Reader, after too strong an Intention, and to refresh Him with a Pleasing Variety. Dr. *Dav*—*is* Art is like His, he avoids as much being Uniform in his Style, as in his Principles or Behaviour. Sometimes, his Expressions soar beyond the Height of Verse, and anon they sink below Common Prose. First he amuses us With Periods too Sublime to be Understood, and then kindly relieves us with a Flat Passage or two, not worth Understanding.

Let not the Reader wonder, that I have made so many Reflections on his Style; for as bad as it is, I assure him, 'tis the best thing that belongs to the Dr. The *Master* of the *Essays* is yet more despicable than the *Form* of them; and so the *Dutch* think, who have refused to print a *French* Edition of them there. This must certainly be a great Mortification to our Modest Dr. who, when he had sent them thither, and very earnestly recommended the Translating and Printing them, has found that the Doctrine of his *Essays* is by no means welcome in that Country; where, tho' *Liberty of Conscience* be indulg'd to all Men, yet no Man is allow'd to hold a Place upon the *English* Terms of *Occasional Conformity*.

On the back of a Quire, he makes a Wordward, and now gains a little as he goes. The

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The Book is an Heap of Inconsistent Thoughts which have no Coherence with Each other, or with what the Dr. writ before. He offers nothing New in these *Essays*, which He hath not contradicted in his Former; nor would it be an unpleasing Entertainment to Confront the several Passages which have fallen from his Pen *Before* and *After* he had a Place. The Dr. was aware of this,

and by way of Prevention, declar'd against
 † Sect. 7. all *Retrospective Enquiries*. † Part of this

Book, he owns, was *written* in 1701, but not then *publish'd*, because *he was not able to Judge what kind of Ferment would arise*; that is, as I understand him, which Party would get the better in the Struggle. Besides, secret History says, that he had a Whisper about that time from the Court; and therefore if the *Ferment* did not *arise* of it self, 'tis not to be imagin'd that a Man, who then began to Entertain Peaceful Principles, should endeavour to raise it. But he was not willing utterly to loose the Credit of what he had written, and having therefore a Proper Call to the Press, on another Occasion, he took that Opportunity to Ease himself of his former Thoughts, tho' Foreign to his Present Design. Hence that motly Mixture of Principles and Reflections, which shew the Author to have been neither of One Side, nor in One Mind, while he writ them. His *Essays* are part *Guelph*, and part *Gibelin*; an Image of that State-Comprehension of Parties for which he labours.

What is good in his Book is not his *Own*; but borrowed from Wiser Writers; and this Stolen Wisdom fits as Unbecoming upon him, as the Habit of a Courtier on the Back of a Clown, he makes as Awkward, Improper,

Improper, and Unnatural an Use of it. *Aliter utimur Proprijs, aliter Commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert, an mutuetur.* It is one thing to speak from a Man's Own Experience and Reflection, and another to deal in *Latin* Sentences, which are Excellent perhaps in themselves, but are spoil'd by his silly Manner of Applying them. He forgets the Advice in *Petronius*, *Ne Sententiae emineant extra Corpus Orationis.* That all a Man writes should be proportion'd, Even, and of a Piece ; and that One Part of the Work should not so far out-shine, as to Obscure and Darken the Other. The Purple Patches he claps upon his Course Style, make it seem much Courser than it is ; as Ugly Women appear to the greatest Disadvantage in the Company of the Young, and the Beautiful.

However, I must do the Dr. the Justice to Own, that his *Essays* abound with many Wise Sayings, which declare themselves at first Sight to be the Off-spring of his Own Thoughts ; and for which he was certainly no ways beholding either to *Tacitus*, *Livy*, or *Machiavel*. Such are these that follow.

That for many Years, there have been Parties in this Kingdom, is evident. Dedic. p. 2.

Impending Dangers, Want, or too much Wealth, Oppression, Corruption in the Ministry, Ill Conduct in the State, and Ambition in the Great Ones, have in all Ages, and will, now and then, produce Faction in a Country. p.

Time and Opportunity in War, and all other great Affairs, is of the most Importance. p. 96.

The Happiness of a People very much depends on their Care, who sit at the Helm. p. 305.

The Executive Power is the Administration of Affairs. p. 311.

The Nature of Man leans more to Vice than Vertue. p. 338.

All the World will acquit the Dr. from the Guilt of Purloining such *Safe, Plain Truths* as these; but which, as *Plain* as they are, he sometimes sets himself to prove; and doth it so foolishly, as would make any Man (if They were not Evident of Themselves) to doubt of them.

I must allow him, after all, to *Paint* pretty naturally, and to give us Lively Draughts of Men and Things, of the several Factions that are now Stirring among us, and the Ends which they drive at. And indeed he was Equal to this Part of his Task. He hath been of all Sides, and mix'd in all Interests, and was well Qualify'd therefore to set each of them out in their Proper Colours.

Sometimes, he seems to have Sate to himself, as Other Painters have done, and to have given us in this History-Piece, among a Croud of other Figures, his Own Face and Character; particularly when he speaks of some Persons, *Obscure and of Desperate Fortunes*, who tho' greedy of Honours, are yet asham'd of no Disgraces; who are pleas'd to be Journey-men or Day-labourers in a Court; glad to be in Service, tho' but for a Week, and who
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*must submit to be taken in or thrown out, as it best serves the Present Turn; * who build * p. 402. all their Merit in a Profligate Resignation of themselves to whatever is Commanded; † and † p. 369. who are of so little Consequence, that 'tis quite Indifferent what becomes of them. * We have * p. 401. something of the Dr.'s Character in these*

Unlucky Words, and perhaps something of his Doom also. If the Reader desires to know more of it, I refer him to the Motto of the Title-Page, and to a Passage or two in the *Second Volume* of the *Earl of Clarendon's History*, where that Noble Pen thus Chastises the Falseness and Folly of the then *Earl of Holland*. [*p. 311.*]

‘Certainly there must be thought some extraordinary Dislike in the very primary Law of Nature, of such Tergiversation and Inconstancy, since we scarce find in any Story, a Deserter of a Trust, or Party, to be once adher'd to, to be long Prosperous, or in any eminent Estimation with those to whom he resorts: Neither hath it been in the Power or Prerogative of any in Authority, to preserve such Men from the Reproach, and Jealousie, and Scandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection, &c. And [*p. 253.*] — ‘Which Action lost him the Affection of those Few who had preserved some Kindness for him, and got him Credit with no body; and may teach all Men, how dangerous it is to step aside out of the Path of Innocence and Vertue, upon any Presumption to be able to get into it again; since such Men usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present Exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that

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*Condition of Innocence from whence they departed,
 'with a Purpose, perhaps, of Returning. According
 to this Observation, there is no Hope of Dr. D—'s
 Recovery, he will probably go on from Bad to Worse,
 and the *Second Part* of these *Essays* will be still more
 Scandalous than the Former. *Tacitus* Prophecied of
 him, when he said, *Nulla mirante quod diu egens, &*
parto nuper pramio male usus, plura ad Flagitia accinge-
retur. A little time perhaps will verifie the Latter
 Part of the Prediction; till Then, or at least for the
 Present, I shall take my Leave of him.



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